

**REPORT**  
**OF THE**  
**FIRST ANNIVERSARY**  
**OF THE**  
**OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**  
**HELD NEAR GARNVILLE,**  
**On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of April,**  
**1836.**

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**CINCINNATI:**  
**PUBLISHED BY THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**  
**CORNER OF SEVENTH AND MAIN STREETS,**  
**1836.**

# MINUTES.

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The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society held its first Anniversary near Granville, Licking co., on the 27th and 28th of April, 1836.

The session commenced in the barn of Ashley Bancroft, on Wednesday, at half past 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was called to order by James Stewart of Bloomingburg, Vice President.

Opened with prayer, by James H. Dickey of Greenfield.

Abram Brooke of Marlboro, and Archibald Miles of Brunswick, were chosen Secretaries.

The following is a list of the delegates present:

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Lewis Miller,	Akron,	Portage co.
John Hunt,	Amesville,	Athens co.
James Wallace,	Antrim,	Gurnsey co.
R. M. Walker,	Austinsburg,	Ashtabula co.
Mrs. Walker,	"	"
Asahel Case,	"	"
James Stewart,	Bloomingsburg,	Fayette co.
Wm. Dickey,	"	"
Hugh C. Stewart,	"	"
Alex. M. McCoy,	"	"
Jos. W. Elliott,	"	"
David C. Eastman,	"	"
Alexander Sears,	"	"
Archibald Stewart,	"	"
John Vandaman,	"	"
Wm. A. Ustick,	"	"
James T. Claypoole,	"	"
J. B. Johnston,	Bellefontaine,	Logan co.
H. S. Carter,	Brimfield,	Portage co.
Archibald Miles,	Brunswick,	Medina co.
Hamon Kingsbury,	Cleveland,	Cuyahoga co.
J. H. Foote,	"	"
Samuel Denny,	Circleville,	Pickaway co.
John Dickson,	Columbiana,	Columbiana co.
James G. Birney,	Cincinnati,	Hamilton co.
Christian Donaldson,	"	"
John Melendy,	"	"
Amzi D. Barber,	"	"
Augustus Wattles,	"	"
Emeline Bishop,	"	"
Susan E. Lowe,	"	"
Phebe Matthews,	"	"

*Minutes.*

H. S. Gillet,	Columbus,	Franklin co.
Eli Kitts,	"	"
Robert Hanna,	Cadiz,	Harrison co.
S. G. Porter,	Dover,	Cuyahoga co.
Joseph H. Payne,	"	"
Horace Bushnell,	Delhi,	Hamilton co.
H. H. Coit,	Euclid,	Cuyahoga co.
P. Bliss,	Glyria,	Lorain co.
John Mullen,	Felicity,	Clermont co.
Robert Stewart,	Frankfort,	Ross co.
Roswell Grosvener,	Fulton,	Hamilton co.
Wm. Palmer,	Flushing,	Belmont co.
Harrison Thurston,	Fredonia,	Licking co.
Laura Nash,	"	"
Mrs. N. Thurston,	"	"
M. L. Brooks,	Georgetown,	Brown co.
Samuel Crothers,	Greenfield,	Highland co.
James H. Dickey,	"	"
Thomas Rogers,	"	"
John Morton,	"	"
Morris Place,	Green Plain,	Clark co.
Elizabeth Borton,	"	"
W. W. Bancroft,	Granville,	Licking co.
Joseph Lennell,	"	"
Jared Bancroft,	"	"
Wm. Wright,	"	"
Wm. Roberts,	"	"
E. C. Wrigat,	"	"
Joseph L. Langdon,	"	"
Joseph Weeks,	"	"
O. M. Thrall,	"	"
Samuel White,	"	"
Wm. Whitney,	"	"
Abram Clark, jun.,	Huntsburg,	Geauga co.
W. Daws,	Hadson,	Portage co.
Frederick Brown,	"	"
David Dutton,	Harrisonville,	Harrison co.
Jay Wheaton,	Irville,	Muskingum co.
Isaac Whitehead,	Jersey,	Licking co.
E. F. Whitehead,	"	"
John J. Griswold,	Kinsman,	Trumbull co.
Sheldon Guthrie,	Kalida,	Putnam co.
Daniel G. Stanley,	Lower Salem,	Washington co.
Asa Strong,	Lync,	Huron co.
R. R. Stone,	"	"
Samuel Lee,	Medina,	Medina co.
Charles Olcott,	"	"
Wm. Cochran,	Mt. Vernon,	Knox co.
Wm. Robinson,	"	"
G. H. Drake,	"	"
J. L. Sampson,	"	"
James Trimble,	"	"
David Rigdon,	"	"
Isaac Thorn,	"	"
W. W. Beebe,	"	"
Mrs. Beebe,	"	"
Israel Mattison,	"	"
B. W. Hugbee,	"	"
Gavin Blair,	"	"
Philander Raymond,	Madison,	Geauga co.

T. B. Wickham,	Marietta,	Washington co.
Samuel Hall,	"	"
Robert R. McIlwayne,	"	"
Luther Temple,	"	"
E. Judson,	Milan,	Huron co.
Mrs. Judson,	"	"
Benj. Gass,	Mansfield,	Richland co.
Archibald Stewart,	Midway,	Madison co.
James Austin,	Marlboro,	Stark co.
Abram Brooke,	"	"
S. S. Miles,	Newark,	Licking co.
W. G. Gage,	New Richmond,	Clermont co.
Francis Donaldson,	"	"
George Garretson,	New Lisbon,	Columbiana co.
Jesse Holmes,	"	"
Thomas Galbraith,	New Garden,	Columbiana co.
Benjamin Hambleton,	"	"
Joseph Ingraham,	"	"
Ruth Galbraith,	"	"
Elizabeth Fagate,	"	"
John Jamison,	New Concord,	Muskingum co.
E. B. Sherwood,	Oberlin,	Lorain co.
C. S. Renshaw,	"	"
Amos Dresser,	"	"
Thomas Jones,	"	"
P. Wells Gray,	"	"
J. T. Pierce,	"	"
John W. Barrows,	"	"
W. S. Lewis,	"	"
John L. Lewis,	"	"
Lucius Mills,	"	"
John S. Griffin,	"	"
Henry Cowles,	"	"
Asa Mahan,	"	"
Delazon Smith,	"	"
J. W. Alvord,	"	"
U. T. Chamberlin,	"	"
Isaac D. Cornwall,	"	"
W. Shiffeld,	"	"
W. T. Allen,	"	"
S. W. Streeter,	"	"
James A. Thome,	"	"
Lyander Cowles,	"	"
Hiram Wilson,	"	"
Mary Ann Thome,	"	"
Miss Barker,	"	"
Miss Ranny,	"	"
Abram Baer, jun.,	Osnaburg,	Stark co.
A. G. Allen,	Putnam,	Muskingum co.
Henry C. Howells,	"	"
M. Gillespie,	"	"
Mrs. Gillespie,	"	"
Mary Sturges,	"	"
H. Maria Howells,	"	"
Ann T. Allen,	"	"
A. A. Guthrie,	"	"
Levi Whipple,	"	"
Lucy Whipple,	"	"
Horace Nye,	"	"
Uri Seelye,	Painesville,	Geauga co.

John Rankin,	Ripley,	Brown co.
B. Sturtevant,	Ruggles,	Huron co.
George Clark,	Sheffield,	Lorain co.
F. D. Parish,	Sandusky,	Huron co.
J. L. Pangburn,	Sardinia,	Brown co.
Isaac Lewis,	Short Creek,	Harrison co.
Wm. E. Lukins,	"	"
Mrs. Lukins,	"	"
Elias M. Lewis,	"	"
Hiram Turning,	St. Albans,	Licking co.
Helon Rose,	"	"
W. B. McCrary,	"	"
Asa Gurney,	"	"
John Gaffield,	"	"
Wm. Mansell,	"	"
Levi Nichols,	"	"
Allen Barns,	"	"
Mahlon Holden,	"	"
Carlton Lockwood,	"	"
Lewis Barns,	"	"
Benj. Carpenter,	"	"
Amos Carpenter,	"	"
Benj. Stanton,	Salem,	Columbiana co.
Abner G. Kirk,	"	"
Joseph G. Wilson,	South Hanover Col.,	Indiana.
F. F. Fenn,	Tallmadge,	Portage co.
Lucy Wright,	"	"
— Knowlton,	Utica,	Licking co.
L. W. Knowlton,	"	"
Edward Wade,	Unionville,	Geauga co.
Theron Plumb,	Vernon,	Trumbull co.
E. Barber,	Vermillicon,	Huron co.
W. H. Rogers,	Wilmington,	Clinton co.
J. L. Vandeman,	Washington,	Fayette co.
S. White,	Welsh Hills,	Licking co.
John White,	"	"
T. P. Owens,	"	"
E. Davis,	"	"
W. R. Griffith,	"	"
J. Pittsford,	"	"
E. White,	"	"
H. C. Taylor,	Western Reserve Col.,	Portage co.

*Resolved*, That Mr. Wilson from Hanover College, Indiana, who is now present, be invited to sit as corresponding member.

A. A. Guthrie, Cor. Sec., read the report of the Executive Committee, which was adopted, and ordered to be printed. [See Reports, No. 1.]

The following resolution was offered and advocated by James G. Birney:

*Resolved*, That in order to perpetuate our free institutions, the subject of slavery ought to be fully discussed by the non-slave-holding states.

*Passed unanimously.*

Adjourned till half past 2 o'clock, P. M.

## AFTERNOON.

Meeting called to order.

James Stewart in the chair.

Treasurer's report read and accepted. [See Reports, No. 2.]

An Appeal to the Females of Ohio, by James A. Thome, was read and ordered to be printed. [See Reports, No. 3.]

The following resolution was offered and advocated by H. Cowles of Oberlin, and J. A. Foote of Cleveland:

*Resolved*, That Justice, Humanity and Conscience require, that we continue to press unceasingly upon Congress the duty of abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

*Passed unanimously.*

The following individuals were nominated delegates to attend the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, on the 10th of May:

ROBERT HANNA,  
J. WALKER,  
GOODSELL BUCKINGHAM,  
EDWARD WEED,  
J. L. SEVERANCE,  
WM. T. ALLAN,  
EDWARD WADE,  
ISAAC GILLET,  
SAMUEL LUDAY,  
M. DUSTIN,  
FRANKLIN PAYNE.

The following resolution was offered and advocated by John Rankin of Ripley, and James H. Dickey of Greenfield:

*Resolved*, That the American slave trade involves within itself, all the cruelties and horrors of the African; therefore, we call on all those who are carrying it on, at once to cease.

*Passed unanimously.*

Adjourned till to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

## THURSDAY MORNING.

James Stewart in the chair.

Prayer by Samuel Crothers.

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made a report, which was adopted. [See end of the Minutes.]

A resolution to amend the 4th article of the Constitution, in order to change the location of the Executive Committee from Muskingum to Hamilton county, passed unanimously.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the officers of this society, who are located in Hamilton county, be constituted the Executive Committee.

The following resolution was advocated by Edward Wade A. A. Guthrie, Augustus Wattles and James G. Birney:

*Resolved*, That we raise \$5,000 this year, to be appropriated to anti-slavery purposes.

While the subscription was taking up, a motion was made to re-consider the resolution, which was passed.

An amendment was then introduced to strike out '\$5,000,' and insert '\$10,000,' which was carried by acclamation.

A subscription of \$4,500 was taken up on the spot.

Resolution by A. A. Guthrie, seconded by A. G. Allen,

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to extend such aid to colored schools in Ohio, as in their opinion may be necessary.

*Passed unanimously.*

John Rankin read a report on the duty of churches with regard to slavery: adopted unanimously and ordered to be printed. [See Reports, No. 4.]

*Resolved*, That every minister in Ohio be furnished with a copy of Rankin's Report.

Resolution by E. Judson of Milan:

*Resolved*, That slavery in its nature tends to dissolve the Union, corrupt public morals, and destroy that sense of right and wrong, without which liberty soon degenerates into licentiousness.

Resolution by Asa Mahan of Oberlin, seconded by Horace Bushnell of Delhi:

Whereas, Oppression in the form of slave-holding, has been considered by the great body of the christian church in the free states as sinful, and to be tolerated for the time being, only, because of the hope entertained, that the slave-holding portion of the church would at length humble itself before God, repent of the sin of oppressing its brethren, and put it away;—and, Whereas, the said slave-holding portion of the

church has in its late action on the subject of slavery, given strong ground to believe that the hope indulged, as aforesaid, was fallacious, and that said portion of the church looks forward to no period, when negro emancipation will be required by her as a christian duty—to no time when it will cease from the oppression of the poor and needy,—therefore, *Resolved*, That the time has now come, when it is the duty of the church to debar from her privileges, all who persist in the sin of holding their fellow-men in the bondage of slavery.

*Passed unanimously.*

Resolution by F. D. Parish of Sandusky:

*Resolved*, That, in our view, the laws of this state in reference to black and mulatto persons, are inconsistent with individual rights, opposed to the principles of natural justice and humanity, highly oppressive in their character, evasive of the provisions of the constitution of the Union, and wholly at variance with the spirit of the constitution of our own state.

*Passed unanimously.*

Resolution by Jesse Holmes of New Lisbon:

*Resolved*, That we recommend to all our anti-slavery friends to abstain entirely from the use of articles, which are the product of slave labor.

*Passed unanimously.*

Resolution by F. D. Parish of Sandusky:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this society be respectfully tendered to Ashley Bancroft, for the use of his barn on this occasion; and that we heartily forgive the unkindness of that portion of our fellow-citizens, which rendered it necessary to hold our meeting in so unusual a place.

*Passed unanimously.*

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this society be tendered to such of the citizens of Granville and its vicinity, as have extended to us their kind and generous hospitalities during the anniversary.

On motion, adjourned, sine die.

Prayer by R. Stone.

JAMES STEWART, *Chairman.*

ABRAM BROOKE, }  
ARCHIBALD MILES, } *Secretaries.*



## LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

## PRESIDENT.

LEICESTER KING, *Trumbull co.*

## VICE PRESIDENTS.

Alexander Campbell,	<i>Brown co.</i>
James Gilliland,	<i>do.</i>
Charles G. Finney,	<i>Oberlin College.</i>
Asa Drury,	<i>Granville College.</i>
Reese E. Price,	<i>Hamilton co.</i>
Francis Dunlavy,	<i>Warren co.</i>
William Keys,	<i>Highland co.</i>
David Long,	<i>Cuyahoga co.</i>
Elizur Wright,	<i>Portage co.</i>
Nathan G. Abbreath,	<i>Columbiana co.</i>
James Stewart,	<i>Fayette co.</i>
Abraham Baer,	<i>Stark co.</i>
William R. Hudson,	<i>Geauga co.</i>
Samuel Denny,	<i>Pickaway co.</i>
Orestes K. Hawley,	<i>Ashtabula co.</i>
Levi Whipple,	<i>Maskingum co.</i>
J. S. Waugh,	<i>Butler co.</i>
William Sloan,	<i>Harrison co.</i>
Daniel Miller,	<i>Seneca co.</i>
Thomas Campbell,	<i>Jefferson co.</i>

## CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Augustus Wattles, *Cincinnati.*

## RECORDING SECRETARY.

Gamaliel Bailey, *Cincinnati.*

## TREASURER.

William Donaldson, *Cincinnati.*

## MANAGERS.

Asa Mahan,	<i>Oberlin College.</i>
Harmon Kingsbury,	<i>Cuyahoga co.</i>
James G. Birney,	<i>Cincinnati.</i>
Isaac Colby,	<i>do.</i>
William Holyoke,	<i>do.</i>
Thomas Maylin,	<i>do.</i>
John Melindy,	<i>do.</i>
Christian Donaldson,	<i>do.</i>

MANAGERS.

Dyer Burgess,	<i>Adams co.</i>
John Hunt,	<i>Athens co.</i>
Joshua R. Giddings,	<i>Ashtabula co.</i>
Jacob Coon,	<i>Belmont co.</i>
J. B. Mahan,	<i>Brown co.</i>
John Rankin,	<i>do.</i>
Thomas Hibben,	<i>Clinton co.</i>
Alexander Campbell,	<i>Clermont co.</i>
Manasseh Baer,	<i>Carroll co.</i>
James Hambleton,	<i>Columbiana co.</i>
M. B. Cushing,	<i>Franklin co.</i>
Uri Secley,	<i>Geauga co.</i>
John Walker,	<i>Harrison co.</i>
Robert Hanna,	<i>do.</i>
Robert Bell,	<i>Holmes co.</i>
Everton Judson,	<i>Huron co.</i>
William Flanner,	<i>Jefferson co.</i>
W. W. Beebe,	<i>Knox co.</i>
Joseph Riggs,	<i>Lawrence co.</i>
W. W. Bancroft,	<i>Licking co.</i>
J. B. Johnson,	<i>Logan co.</i>
John Monteith,	<i>Lorain co.</i>
Archibald Stewart,	<i>Madison co.</i>
Timothy Hudson,	<i>Medina co.</i>
Charles Dungan,	<i>Monroe co.</i>
James H. Shield,	<i>Montgomery co.</i>
Horace Nye,	<i>Muskingum co.</i>
John Wallace,	<i>do.</i>
G. C. Beaman,	<i>Pike co.</i>
Asahel Kilbourn,	<i>Portage co.</i>
J. B. Finley,	<i>Pickaway co.</i>
F. H. Gallady,	<i>Preble co.</i>
Sheldon Guthrie,	<i>Putnam co.</i>
Robert Stewart,	<i>Ross co.</i>
Goodsell Buckingham,	<i>Richland co.</i>
Samuel McCulloch,	<i>Shelby co.</i>
Riverius Bidwell,	<i>Trumbull co.</i>

**A LIST OF**  
**ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES IN OHIO.**

<i>Name.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>President.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
Ashtabula co.	Ashtabula			L. Bissel
"    female	"	437	Mrs. L. Bissell	Miss B.M. Cowles
Austinburg	"		Nathan Austin	
Avon	Lorain			
Akron	Cuyahoga	30	Ansel Miller	Wm. E. Wright
Brunswick	Medina	86	A. Deming	A. Miles
Batavia	Geauga			
Bristol				
Bloomfield	Trumbull	26	Norman Kimball	John Smith
Brimfield	Portage	43	H. L. Carter	Wm. Hall
Cadiz	Harrison	70	Thomas Lee	Wm. Boyce
Charleston	Portage	25	R. Loomis	C. G. Austin
Columbiana	Columbiana	43	John Dixon	Lot Holmes
Columbiana co.		40	James Hambleton	Abner G. Kirk
Cleveland	Cuyahoga	70	D. Long	S. L. Severance
Chester	Geauga			
Cuyahoga Falls	Cuyahoga	50	B. Boothe	O. Wetmore
Carlisle	Lorain	40	Phineas Johnson	N. S. Bishop
Cincinnati	Hamilton	98	J. C. Ludlow	G. Bailey
Clarksfield	Huron	26	J. Huff	T. T. Husted
Canton female	Stark	11	Mrs. John Myers	Mrs. H. Griswold
Cadiz female	Harrison	40	Mrs. E. Wilson	Miss A. Tingley
Cherokee	Logan	30	James S. Johnson	John Scott
Dover	Cuyahoga	58	Leveret Johnson	H. W. Howard
Delhi & Storrs	Hamilton			
Elyria	Lorain	70	Fred. Hamlin	L. Burnell
Euclid	Cuyahoga	28	Henry H. Coit	Asa Cady
Edinburg	Portage	24		E. Pearson
Elyria female	Lorain	45	Abigail Montieth	Mary L. Brown
Freeport		25	H. Caron	
Farmington	Trumbull			Henry Wolcott
Felicity	Brown	60		
Fitchville	Huron	62	W. M. Ladd	Joseph Wood
Freedom	Portage	30	George Ranny	Daniel Millikan
Fayette co.		97	William Dickey	J. T. Claypoole
Fulton	Hamilton	24	John R. Hoper	S. R. Badcau
Flushing	Belmont	17	R. C. Kirk	Smith Halloway
Granville	Licking	50	Asa Drury	W. W. Bancroft
Georgetown	Brown	23	Samuel King	Erastus Curtis
Greensburg	Trumbull	75	Wm. Harrington	— Churchill
Gustavus	"	84	Asa Case	J. W. Selby
Granville male	Licking	40	Mrs. S. Leonard	Mrs. M. E. Drury
Greenplain	Clarke			
Geneva female	Ashtabula	25	Phelena Cowles	Mary Fitch
Georgetown	Harrison	70	John Hammond	Isaac Lewis
Geneva	"	40	H. S. Spencer	Alpheus Cowles
Grand River Instit	"	30	R. M. Walker	Sam. W. Graves

<i>Name.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>President.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
Harrisville	Harrison	45	J. Mercer	R. Dutton
Hudson	Portage	84	Heman Oviatt	J. B. Walker
Hartford	Trumbull	60	Davis Fuller	David Bushnell
Harrison co.	Harrison			
Hinckley	Medina	46	John Dunham	Orlando Wilcox
Hanover	Columbiana	40	George Sloan	Abel Carey
Jersey	Licking			
Johnsonville	Trumbull	50	O. S. Ellis	N. Webb
Kirtland	Geauga	86	D. Martindale	Samuel Billings
Kinaman	Trumbull			D. Allen
Lexington			J. H. Eells	A. A. Bliss
Lorain co.			J. Nickerson	Oviatt Cole
Litchfield	Medina	72		Eri S. Warner
Liverpool	"	54	Moses Deming	
Lyme	Huron			
Madison	Geauga	80	Henry T. Kelley	R. E. W. Adams
Marietta	Washington	106	Luke Dewitt	Samuel Hall
Miami University	Butler			J. M. Stone
Medina	Medina	130	Samuel Lee	T. Hudson
Mahoning	Stark	83	David Allen	J. H. Day
Middlebury	Portage			
Muskingum co.	Muskingum	150	Levi Whipple	J. C. Brown
Muskingum female	"	52	Lucinda Nye	Maria Sturgess
Madison female	Geauga	112	Mrs. Kelley	Mrs. A. Clezen
Mt. Vernon	Knox	25	— Banning	L. Brook
Marlboro'	Stark	90	Wm. Garrigan	A. Brocke
Mt. Union	"			
Mt. Pleasant	Jefferson			
Milan	Huron	70	E. Barber	J. Hambleton
Middletown	Columbiana	20	Joel Simkins	J. Cockrane
New Richmond	Clermont	60	Elias R. Day	W. G. Gage
New Athens	Harrison	50	Alex. Hammond	Hugh Stevens
North Bloomfield		24	N. Kimball	Asa Smith
New Concord	Muskingum	50	James Gray	Johnson Welch
New Garden	Columbiana	141		B. B. Davis
Nelson	Portage	50		S. Baldwin
New Lisbon	Columbiana	40	George Garretson	John Frost
Oberlin	Lorain	300	J. J. Shipherd	U. T. Chamberlain
Oberlin female	"	48	Miss M. Penfield	Mrs. L. F. Ingersol
Oberlin y'ng ladies	"	86	M. A. Whittlesey	A. L. Tenny
Paint Valley	Portage	942	Samuel Steel	James H. Dickey
Portage co. female	"	300	Mrs. J. Swift	Lucy M. Wright
Portage co. male				
Pickaway co.	Geauga			
Painesville		120	T. Richmond	B. Pepoon
Ripley	Brown	140	Alex. Campbell	Charles Porter
Randolph		53	R. Bement	Truman Case
Ravenna	Portage	16		
Richfield	Medina	16	S. J. Brown	Willys Welton

<i>Name.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>President.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
Streetsboro'	Portage	46	Charles Crocker	D. Lane
Sheffield	Lorain	48	M. Garfield	J. S. Burrell
Somerton	Belmont	85	Moses Davis	B. Stanton
St. Albans	Licking	80	John Guffield	Mahlon Holden
Salem	Columbiana	67	B. Stanton	Abner G. Kirk
Stark co.		43	James Austin	Abm. Baer, jun.
Tallmadge	Portage	91	John Lane	E. Wright
Vienna	Trumbull	36	Wm. H. Read	A. M. Read
Vernon	"	26	Theron Plumb	Samuel Plumb
Vernon female	"	26	Mrs. Coe	
West. Reserve Col.	Portage	70	D. H. Babcock	H. A. Taylor
Windham		60	Wm. Hamford	— Kingsley
Warren				
West Union	Adams	60		
Welch Hill	Licking	50		
Wakeman	Huron	70	X. Betts	D. H. Bunce, sen.
Wellington	Lorain	60	D. Johns	Homer Hamlin
Waynesburgh	Wayne	85	J. S. Farr	R. Babcock
Wayne female	Ashtabula		Mrs. Brooks	Wm. Rogers
Waynesburg	Stark		J. Koontz	— Welch
Willoughby	Cuyahoga	121	Samuel Wilson	H. Homer
White Oak	Brown	130	H. Pangburn	J. B. Mahan

## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

### NO. 1

In presenting the first Annual Report of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, your committee claim that indulgence which is usually extended to those who are called to the performance of a work, to them new, and for which they feel themselves greatly incompetent.

Prior to 1835, but little had been done in Ohio for the cause of emancipation. The call for a convention—its meeting—the formation of this society, (in April last,) are matters of history;—the effects of that convention—the operations of this society, together with anti-slavery efforts generally, have been the occasion of developing a state of society, painful alike to the patriot and christian. With unaffected surprise we find ourselves engaged in a contest, involving the most momentous consequences: not our nation's prosperity merely, but the very existence of our free institutions, are staked upon the issue.

It remains, yet, a question, whether republican liberty can be enjoyed in this country — whether law and order are to be maintained; whether a sense of justice and due regard for the rights of others will sway the minds of our fellow-citizens, or licentiousness, anarchy and despotism prevail.

The superficial observer will regard our apprehensions as groundless. The people have so long listened to the flattering eulogies of political aspirants and other public speakers — they have so delighted in the prophetic greatness and perpetuity of our country — they have contracted so strong an aversion to any but bright pictures, that it is difficult to excite apprehensions of real danger.

We, too, have cherished the hope, so dear to every American heart. We have trusted that the paternal character of our institutions, the leniency of our laws, and the purity of our political creed, would so effectually secure the affection and confidence of the people, and beget such a sacred regard for law and order, as to insure exemption from the evils of anarchy on the one hand, and of despotism on the other.

We have been willing to believe, that whilst other governments from their very structure must be subject to many vicissitudes, *ours* would remain stable: and that though in *other* lands liberal principles might advance to-day and recede to-morrow, and ultimately be lost in the thick gloom of settled despotism; yet in *ours*, their cheering rays would rise and increase until they should lighten the path and warm the heart of every human being in our land.

In early life we imbibed the idea, and tenderly cherished it, — that whatever of wrong or of error was permitted to exist in our institutions, or was through negligence or a supposed necessity incorporated with our constitution or laws, would soon yield to the remedies prescribed by patriotism and religion, and that, in process of time, we should advance from point to point, until all our institutions, based on the principles of eternal right, should become the admiration of nations, and serve as bright examples to the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

We supposed our countrymen honest in their belief of the great truth that 'all men are created equal, and are inalienably entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' and we trusted they would act on the practical doctrines which that declaration involves: — and when, as if to challenge the love and confidence of the nations of the earth, and give to all mankind a solemn pledge of our sincerity, we threw wide our doors and advertised the world of an asylum for the oppressed,

when both in story and in song we boasted of the 'land of the free and home of the brave,'—we were slow to believe, that we should long continue to give a practical contradiction of our professions.

But above all, as christians, we looked to and trusted in the purifying and enlightening influences of that gospel whose spirit is the very essence of liberty—and when the church took her stand and declared for the conversion of the world, we hailed the event as the last and surest guaranty of our country's safety. But the events of the past year have abated our confidence,—they have affected us with much of doubt and alarm.

We find that principles, absolutely essential to human liberty, long since considered as forever established, are doubted in theory, and denied in practice by a large number of the people of these United States; and that the bright visions of our forefathers and our own long cherished hopes may yet prove but day dreams, soon to be dissipated by the most painful realities.

We feel, that some of these events should be brought out in our report, not only because they are connected with the history of anti-slavery operations, but that they may serve as beacons to warn future generations of the dangers to which we are exposed,—dangers not the less alarming, because our own friends and neighbors appear unconscious of their existence.

The arrogant demands of the south have been gradually yielded to, till little but the name of liberty is left us: freedom of speech exists only in name—its exercise being at the hazard of personal safety: the right of petition is called in question—liberty of the press, notwithstanding the boasted guaranty of the constitution, is virtually lost: the right of discussion, a right as undoubted as the right to breathe, is gravely denied. In short, *birthright* endowments have become obsolete, and are talked of as *privileges*, which may be withheld by law, or infringed upon and wrested away by mobocratic violence.

Brute force has in many instances usurped the place of law—passion, of reason—abuse, of argument—and insult, of urbanity.

The United States mail has been plundered, and its contents publicly burned—its constitutional use withheld at the caprice of the deputies of the department. Citizens of the free states can no longer travel at the south but at the peril of their

lives, unless they seal their mouths on the subject of slavery, or justify the system.

A surrender of our inalienable rights, we are told, is indispensable to a preservation of the union.

Insolent demands are made for the enactment of laws, which would strike a death blow to the very semblance of liberty.

Citizens of irreproachable life are formally claimed as fugitives from justice.

Immense sums are offered for the abduction of free citizens for the avowed purpose of putting them to death.

Peaceful, law-abiding men, have been publicly assaulted—private dwellings forcibly entered—property destroyed—lawful assemblies of citizens dispersed—and religious meetings broken up.

Citizens, not charged with crime, have been hunted like felons—others dragged from their beds at midnight—and some, without even the form of trial, subjected to the most disgraceful inflictions—and life is taken without trial by jury;—and almost in vain is redress sought from the tribunals of our country.

All these things, crowded as they have been into the space of a few short months, have failed to arouse the country to a sense of her danger.

The press, that palladium of our liberties as we have heretofore considered it, has not only failed to condemn the guilty and refused to defend the innocent,—but, by systematic misrepresentation, has been the chief instrument in fomenting the mind of the disorderly and goading them on to outrage.

Nor have the great mass of intelligent citizens entered their protest against these acts of violence: while great meetings have been held, and strong resolutions adopted condemnatory of the innocent occasion of such acts, the lawless have been suffered to pass on unrebuked.

Nay more—the evidence is conclusive, that few, if any, mobs would have occurred but for the countenance given by those from whom better things might have been expected. ‘Gentlemen of property and standing,’ under the specious plea of patriotism, have taken such ground as to give encouragement to riots: whether with design, we pretend not to say.

It is with unfeigned grief that we are obliged to record our testimony against the church—but we dare not disobey the command, ‘Thou shalt in *any wise* rebuke thy neighbor.’

While we have been cherishing the fond hope that the gospel would do away all oppression, and introduce the reign of



love; that peace on earth and good will to man was not alone to be the song of angels, but the desire of every christian heart;—how sad our disappointment, how deep our burnility, to see the church, with multitudes of ministers and leaders, making compromises with the world, and bowing down and paying homage to a corrupt public sentiment.

Eagerness to extend her borders, to become popular, to accommodate herself to the rich and great, has taken the place of longings after holiness; and a rigid adherence to right, has given place to laxity of morals, uncharitableness and oppression:—thus we see members of the church selling their brethren in the Lord, and a nation of heathen kept in our midst by their aid and consent, for the purpose of administering to the ease, luxury and licentiousness of a depraved and degenerating people.

While we thus deplore the moral obliquity of the church as a whole, we speak with gratitude of the stand taken by some denominations, and many ministers and members in others. In this connexion, we would express our regret that so many ministers, in the free states, who profess to believe our cause just and to hope it will succeed—persuade themselves that they can innocently stand aloof from it. Thus subjecting themselves to the charge of inconsistency, and forfeiting the confidence of all, they are the very mean of keeping up that excitement they so much deprecate, and of perpetuating that extreme sensitiveness which characterises the church with regard to this subject.

Such is a brief view of the moral condition of our beloved country; and it would seem, while we have been most rapidly advancing in arts and sciences, in the developement of our strength and wonderful resources, and getting us a great name—that in devotedness to the rights of man, in the practice of correct morals, and in true, enlightened patriotism, we have as rapidly retrograded.

And what is the *cause* of all these alarming indications? We answer, Slavery, more than any one thing, is to be held accountable for the evils of which we complain; for an habitual, total disregard of the rights of a large portion of our fellow-men, has blunted or destroyed that sense of right and wrong, which constitutes the *vital principle* of rational liberty.

The present generation have grown up under such influences, that in the very nature of things the strong are disposed to bear down the weak.

They have been educated, practically, in the belief that (some) men have no *inalienable* rights;—they have seen the

most grinding oppression, practiced by many, justified by more, palliated by most, tolerated by law, and sanctified by the church.

The spirit of misrule has been wide-spread: the disgrace rests on no particular section—Ohio comes in for her full share. For the purpose of preventing discussion, or dispersing religious meetings, mobs have been raised in Circleville, Granville, Zanesville, Painesville, Marietta, Willoughby, St. Albans, Brinfield, New Lisbon, Mt. Vernon, Middlebury, Grafton, and Mt. Pleasant.

Some of these outrages have been attended by circumstances of considerable aggravation: dangerous missiles have been employed,—insult and invective were the least objectionable attendants. The mob from Zanesville visited the neighboring town of Putnam, some five or six times—dispersing and disturbing meetings by day, and by night assaulting houses, destroying property, and ordering persons abiding there to leave the place. The Willoughby mob abducted a peaceful citizen from his lodgings at a late hour of the night—carried him five or six miles, and after a vain attempt to extort a promise not to return, left him. At Marietta, the object of attack was a religious meeting: so also at New Lisbon, (on the Sabbath:) at Mt. Vernon, the *watchword* was, 'No discussion!'

But we will not dwell on a part of the subject so painful, so revolting to our feelings, and involving in dishonor such of our fellow-citizens as were engaged, either as perpetrators or abettors.

The operations of anti-slavery societies have been the means of making manifest to ALL, the true state of feeling cherished by many of our fellow-citizens of this state. Whilst they have had the effect of drawing from his place of secrecy and silence our adversary, it has been with surprise that we have seen him so formidable in his aspect—so gigantic in stature. We had not believed till now, that the pro-slavery spirit could have found such nourishment or grown to such size, under a constitution which, more than any other in the union, puts its seal of reprobation on oppression under the form of slave-holding. The sentiment widely disseminated is, that though slavery be a sin, yet it is *such* an one that it may be tolerated—that its immediate abolition would be a *greater* sin. In these absurdities, many ministers and professing christians agree—thereby declaring that men are *compelled* to commit sin.

Many are found *justifying* slavery by the Bible, and at the same time pronouncing it *wrong*—others say it is right.

Our attachment to, and understanding of the political creed of our country has also been tested, and indubitable proof furnished of the necessity of anti-slavery associations in the free states, irrespective of any influence they may have on the slaveholders,—for the discussion of this subject is but the discussion of human rights, and these rights to be enjoyed *must* be understood.

While there is much to alarm the fears and grieve the hearts of the friends of liberty and of God, yet the success of the cause of emancipation has inspired us with hope. We trust there is a redeeming spirit abroad in the land.

In exhibiting the evidence of success, we are obliged to deal more in generalities than we could wish, and to speak of what has *been* done, rather than what *we* have done.

The Executive Committee have been located where they have had no access to or use of the newspaper press, and have not been furnished with the means for employing agents; consequently, about all they have done as a committee, has been to perfect as well as they could the organization of the society, prepare it for future operations, and to keep up a somewhat extended correspondence with different parts of the state. Nevertheless, the cause has gone forward beyond our most sanguine expectations.

At the time of our organization, the committee knew of but four newspapers in Ohio at all inclined to advocate the cause. Now there are two devoted exclusively to its interests, eight others decidedly favorable, and others (number unknown) that will publish 'by request.'

Although the Seceders, Covenanters, and Friends, had previously taken right ground on the subject of slavery, yet, up to the date of our society, we knew of no ecclesiastical body in Ohio, (the Presbytery of Chillicothe excepted) which had borne consistent testimony against slave-holding oppression. During the year, two out of three of the Synods of the Presbyterian church, have passed strong anti-slavery resolutions—one by an unanimous vote, and the other by a large majority. Petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and to our own state legislature for the repeal of our 'black laws,' were extensively signed. Female members of the Presbyterian church have circulated petitions to the General Assembly on the subject; and we trust they have been generally signed.

One year ago, there were about twenty anti-slavery societies in Ohio. We have now on our list, one hundred and twenty regularly organized associations: [see App.] the lar-

gest of these contains nine hundred and forty-two members, several of them have from two to five hundred, some from twenty to forty, one of eleven—the majority range from forty to one hundred. The whole number is conjectural:—many societies have failed to report, and some of these we set down as they were at the time of their organization, and of others we know only what is shown in the Appendix. We think the aggregate will not vary much from ten thousand.

We regret that the reports from the local societies have been so imperfect. Some of them are full of interest; and they all go to show that the subject of abolition has taken hold of the public mind with a firm grasp—that the improvement of the moral condition of the people of color is being attended to—that the prayer meetings for the abolition of slavery are kept up with interest—that the opposition in some places is less violent,—and that the public mind in many places is assuming an attitude much more favorable to the reception of truth than formerly. Indeed, the committee cannot but feel, if the bone and sinew of the nation, (the yeomanry of the country,) can be persuaded to read, think and listen, with regard to the great question at issue, and divest their minds of the prejudices so sedulously planted and nourished by the aristocracy of the cities and great towns, that we shall soon see the majesty of the law restored, and our country rescued from impending ruin. It is almost an uniform fact, in the experience of the agents who have labored in this state, that wherever a community has heard with candor, they have laid by their prejudices, and assented to the principles as examined. It has been likewise observed, that the opposition which has manifested itself in mobs, public meetings, and neglect of lectures, has grown out of misapprehension either of the *designs* or *tendencies* of abolition movements.

The committee acknowledge the obligations of this, to the parent society, for the valuable services of Theodore D. Weld, who labored for a year amongst us; and also for those of Messrs. Thome, Allen, Alvord, Streeter, and Wattles, who have been engaged in lecturing in the northern and eastern parts of the state during the winter.

It might seem invidious to mention by name, local friends, who have devoted themselves to this work.

Nearly all who have identified themselves with the cause, are emphatically working men, and have shown by their labors and their prayers, that they feel the force of the injunction, 'Work while the day lasts;'—nevertheless, we feel constrained to say, what every heart must feel, that the sacrifices

and labors of our co-worker and brother James G. Birney, and the influence of the 'Philanthropist,' have been, under God, of essential service to the cause. .

We would also record the pleasing fact, that it has been greatly advanced by female influence and effort. One female society employed an agent at their own expense, and sent him through their whole county lecturing and organizing societies.

The wide circulation given to anti-slavery publications generally, has served to excite the public mind and arouse from their guilty slumber the people of Ohio. The precise number of such publications circulated, we cannot report. Some societies take but few: generally, however, the number is considerable; in some small societies from fifty to three hundred per month, are regularly received.

Nor can the committee state the amount of funds contributed during the year, for the general cause: this only we know, —one society raised over \$700—several others from \$100 to \$200—and all more or less: which sums have been given to the parent society and the schools, or expended for papers, books, &c. &c.

With regard to the influence which our operations have produced on slavery, we would express the hope that it is felt—sensibly felt—not by the slave in the increased rigor of his bondage, but by the master. Our contiguity to Virginia and Kentucky, and the constant and extensive intercourse which exists between us, renders it absolutely impossible that they should long be unaffected, when once public opinion becomes rectified in Ohio. We have no hesitation in saying that in Western Virginia and Kentucky, the question is being discussed with more probability of arriving at just and practical conclusions than ever before.

In view of the character and amount of opposition we have had to encounter, we feel that there is great cause for rendering praise to God, for the success with which he has been pleased to crown our feeble efforts. To Him alone, belongs all the glory.

Everywhere, the friends of this cause have been obliged to contend, more or less, with prejudice, ignorance, hatred, and all the unholy passions of depraved human nature—with principalities and powers—with noble and ignoble.

Impediments of almost every description have been thrown in our way. To make them effectual, there has been not unfrequently an union of effort on the part of men professing to be christians, and such as are avowedly irreligious in life and profession.

The use of the newspaper press, on any terms, has generally been denied; houses of worship have been shut against us; and a general system of proscription and intimidation employed. The most insulting and injurious epithets are applied to us; and an uniform, vigilant, plan of misrepresentation kept up. Leading men, in private and in public meetings, have endorsed the slander of the day: people are taught to regard rebuke of sin, as censoriousness;—God's condemnation of oppression, denunciation;—pleading for the universal adoption of the golden rule, fanaticism;—urging the truths of our political creed, incendiarism;—and the exercise of constitutional rights, treason.

We advert to these things, not as matter of complaint, for we remember—'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake,'—but to show the character of the opposition, which—whether it come from men high in power and counted honorable, or from the most obscure of the rabble—has in most cases assumed a ferociousness of character, disreputable and painful in the extreme.

There are several topics connected with the cause which the committee forbear to touch upon, because they expect special reports from others.

We have also forbore to dwell on the subject of slavery itself—not that we feel less for the wrongs and sufferings of the poor captives.—God forbid! Their cry comes to us on every breeze, piercing our hearts with many sorrows: and we must cease to feel, our hearts must become callous, we must forget the worth of the immortal soul, and lose *all* sense of moral right and religious duty, before we can cease to plead their cause, or put forth our efforts to rescue them from the hands of the oppressor.

We feel no disposition to lessen our labors in behalf of the slave: on the contrary, their cause has become our own—completely identified: 'tis the cause of liberty to both. We have been unconsciously living down the principles of freedom. We have been cherishing the principles of aristocracy and oppression, not alone at the south, but here, in Ohio; and it is well if they have not attained such strength, as to set at defiance all attempts to re-establish the true principles of man's inalienable rights.

Instead, therefore, of laboring in a work of pure benevolence, as involving only the interests of others; we labor for ourselves also and for our children, and we feel that *freedom to the slave or slavery to the free*, are the only alternatives.

Liberty and Slavery grow not on the same soil: in the very nature of things they cannot exist together. The issue is now made up; the trial is already commenced; on the decision of which hangs, not the liberties of two and a half millions of slaves only, but the liberties of us all,—not the eternal well being of the poor benighted bondman only, but the prosperity of Zion universally. While we dare not doubt the result, we feel that the conflict is to be sore. Time, money, talents, must all be consecrated to the work. Ease, worldly honors and reputation, must be sacrificed. All that the world holds dear, even life itself, must be periled (if need be) in this holy cause.

In our progress thus far, we have unequivocal evidence of God's favor: amidst storms and tempests, he has preserved us. Though the rage of our enemies has well nigh consumed us, yet He has been our strong tower and rock of defence. He has been our present help in every time of trouble; and from every danger he has delivered us.

After so many and signal manifestations of his pleasure—after experiencing so remarkably that the path of duty is the path of safety,—we should dishonor God, did we entertain a doubt as to the final triumph of our cause, or indulge a wish to retire from the contest. We say, therefore, to our brethren,—Gird yourselves anew for the combat—put on the whole armor of that God in whom is our strength—seek the guidance of his holy spirit:—let a mighty cloud of incense go up continually in prayer for the oppressed and the oppressor:—reason, rebuke, reprove, exhort and entreat, with the kind spirit of our blessed Redeemer:—pity the ignorant—bear with the froward and perverse—avoid anger—take with patience, insult and injury—and with joy, the spoiling of your goods:—but press home the truth of God upon the hearts and consciences of your fellow-men:—and though the struggle may be prolonged—though many may finish their course, and go home to glory, before the final consummation of our hopes—yet the work *shall* be accomplished—the final deliverance cometh;—and many of us may live to hear the shouts of jubilee and the songs of freedom, which shall echo from valley to valley, and from mountain to mountain—saying with loud and joyous acclamation,—‘*Every yoke is broken: all the oppressed are free.*’

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

## NO. 2.

Ohio Anti-Slavery Society in account with Albert G. Allen.

		Dr.	
1835.			
June 15	Paid for Secretary and Treasurer's book, - -	\$ 1 50	
" 19	" " Postage, - - - - -	19	
" 26	" " Printing proceedings of Convention, and		
	paper for the same, - - - - -	200 53	
	" " Transportation from New York, - - -	15 11	
	" " Postage cor. sec., per bill, - - -	10 00	
			227 33

		Cr.	
1835.			
April 24	Cash collected at Convention, - - - - -	\$ 61 64	
" 29	" H. C. Howells, - - - - -	5 00	
" 30	" W. F. Hunt, - - - - -	2 00	
May 2	" Robert Stewart, by Mr. Gillespie, - - -	2 00	
" "	" James Stewart, - - - - -	3 00	
June 13	" Mr. Baer, by A. A. Guthrie, - - - - -	2 00	
Nov. 17	" E. E. Anti-Slavery Society, - - - - -	33 00	
Dec. 21	" Sales of Reports, - - - - -	24 00	
1836.			
Jan. 1	" Mr. Rutherford's church, Ross co., - - -	2 80	
" "	" Sales of Reports, - - - - -	5 20	
" 7	" do. do. - - - - -	18 00	
" 21	" do. do. - - - - -	1 00	
" 23	" Circleville Anti-Slavery Society, - - -	5 00	
Feb. 26	" Sales of Reports, - - - - -	1 31	
March 12	" do. do. - - - - -	2 00	
April 20	" do. do. H. Nye's ac't, - - - - -	13 13	
	Balance to new account, - - - - -	45 45	
			226 53
April 26, 1836, Dr. to balance, - - - - -		\$ 45 45	

E. E. Putnam, Ohio, April 26, 1836.

ALBERT G. ALLEN, Treasurer.

We certify that we have examined the above account, and the same is correct,—

A. A. GUTHRIE, }  
LEVI WHIPPLE, } Auditors.



## ADDRESS TO THE LADIES OF OHIO.

## NO. 3.

SISTERS OF OHIO!—

Suffer your brethren to appeal to you for aid. We are engaged in a glorious work—but it is also an arduous one; and we realize that ‘it is not good for man to be *alone*’ in toiling for God.

In other kindred enterprises, in which we have been called to embark, we have felt the benefits of your sustaining influence; and we have no desire to be deprived of them in our present labors of love.

We need *your* aid—your sanction—your interests and prayers—your wakeful concern—your heart-beating sympathies—the encouragement of your unwavering faith—the example of your ‘patience in tribulation’—your hand beckoning us onward to duty—and your voice cheering us, amid persecutions, to fresh effort in behalf of perishing humanity.

We need your aid—we need it greatly—we need it now. Permit us, therefore, to lay before you the *claims* of our cause upon you, as mothers and daughters, as sisters and wives.

But on the threshold of this work, we find ourselves surrounded by a sentiment, as corrupt as it is prevalent, which denies the *primary duties and responsibilities of woman*, and hence renders it necessary for us to preface our present communication to you with the enforcing of certain principles, which should have been received as first truths.

It is broadly insinuated—nay, it is boldly declared—by those in high places, and echoed by the press—that woman has no duties of a public nature—no part to act in the great moral movements of the day—no *privilege* to be interested in benevolent enterprises, which may excite the wicked—no right to exert an active influence for the cessation of cruelty and the promotion of peace, purity and love. If such sentiments as these are not yet embodied into a theory, and taught, by system, in our pulpits and seminaries,—they are at least so far popular, that they can be uttered without exciting indignation; and so generally credited, that their fallacy has to be proved.

A *sphere* is arrogantly assigned to woman. narrowed down to the circuit of the parlor, or measured by the circumference of her spinning-wheel; and if she venture for a moment to turn aside from her very *serviceable* concernment with *domes-*

*tic cares*, she is branded with every ungenerous and abusive epithet, and bid back to her *proper sphere*.

We cannot away with the ferocious spirit of presumptuous superiority, in which sentiments so degrading to the dignity, and so libellous upon the influence of woman, originate. We must ever rebuke that selfish exclusiveness, which—arrogating to man the peculiar endowments of intellect and heart—designates every exercise of the same on the part of woman, as impertinent and assuming; which frowns upon her noble efforts to elevate and happy the world, and strives, by ridicule, innuendoes, taunts and abuse, to re-plunge her into the insignificance in which Despotism has always held her. We have no sympathy with such sentiments—no congeniality with such a spirit. The former are as far from the dictates of humanity and the councils of courtesy, as is the latter from the genius of christianity and the spirit of liberty.

In utter opposition to these monstrous and oppressive views, we hold that it is 'the chief end' of woman as well as 'of man to glorify God'—that it is her duty to contribute to the general happiness of mankind—that she is bound to be active in furthering every moral enterprize which promotes the common welfare—that it is her duty, therefore, to inquire into the merits of every such cause, which is before the public mind.

*Here is woman's sphere!* Her duties consist no more of *domestic cares*, than man's duties consist of his merchandize, his professional, mechanical, and other business pursuits. These all are but parts of that humble machinery which supports our humble bodies. There are more worthy cares, more elevating employments, more ennobling duties, growing out of our sublime relations to God and our fellow-man, and also springing up from our own immortality, which should enlist the energies of both woman and man. To deny these responsibilities to woman, while we impose, with scrupulous exactness, *domestic duties*,—is to sacrifice the *rational* to the *animal* part of woman. And furthermore: as the pursuit of these high duties comprises the *peculiar happiness* of intelligent beings, consequently, the act which cuts off *one half* of the rational creation from participating in these duties, dries up all the springs of their *rational* enjoyments. Whether this injustice has not been virtually perpetrated upon *woman*, is a question of solemn import. That it is committed in those countries where woman is made a *drudge*, no one doubts; and we would submit—whether it is not as effectually, if not so grossly, perpetrated in *our country*, by that odious sentiment which makes her a *painted puppet* or a *gilded butterfly*?

Whether woman be yoked to labor with the ox, or screened from the sun and sheltered from the wind; whether she be driven into the kitchen, or installed in the parlor; whether she stand behind the lord's chair to serve him at table, or be elevated herself to the most honorable seat; whether she be cooped up with the poultry in the back yard, or caged with 'birds of paradise,' and hung up in the bow window, to attract the gaze of passers-by with the splendor of her plumage and the sweetness of her notes;—in a word, whether she be made on the one hand a mere *subservient* to the *purposes and pleasures* of man, or on the other the *passive recipient* of the *favours* of man, *in either situation*,—she may be effectually robbed of her rights and happiness as *woman*. How, then, shall we be able to estimate the wrong which is done to woman, and through her to mankind, by those who, under pretext of releasing her from laborious duties, would shut her out forever from the glorious fields of moral and benevolent enterprise!

But to drop the consideration of such humiliating sentiments—for the existence of which human nature deserves a blush—we would remark, that it is matter of doubt whether the most well designing have recognized the full amount of female influence and responsibilities. God evidently intended that woman should exert an immense control, for which a knowledge of the condition and wants of the world and great freedom of action, can alone qualify her. Such design is evident, both from her *nature* and her *relation to the world*. Her constitutional susceptibilities—her sympathies—her yearnings of compassion—her enlargedness of benevolence—and her generous disinterestedness,—are the *finger of God* pointing her out as the guardian angel of the world's hopes, whose ever active wing should hover over the woes of mankind, and whose wakeful eye should pierce into the *sources* of human misery.

Nor do the evidences of woman's high design appear alone in the superior sympathies of her nature, fitting her to administer to *bodily* sufferings. She has other peculiarities, either of nature or situation, or both, which fit her for the discharge of other important duties. We would particularly refer to her *purity of principle*—the result, it may be, of her removedness from the contaminations of worldly policy—her *delicate sense of right*—her fearlessness of purpose to do duty—and her confiding trust of consequences to God. How could she be more clearly designated, than by such characteristics, as God's agent in the world to rebuke sin, and urge the

sinner to *immediate repentance*? Hence we discover that in every age of the church, God has distinguished woman. Females have always composed a large majority of professing christians; and it would not be unsafe to say, that they have embodied a large amount of the vital piety of the church. Indeed it would appear to be a *prominent feature* in the divine plan for the recovery of our race, to secure the *agency of woman*. This is at once an evidence of the weight of female influence, and an indication of God's will that man should enlist that influence in every benevolent cause in which he himself is engaged.

Negligence on this point in the leaders of moral movements, is therefore most serious, if not fatal. What, then, must be the folly of those who, in relation to female influence, are not only *indifferent*, but *sceptical* and even *contemptuous*!

But if woman's natural endowments of heart eminently qualify her for benevolent effort, how much more of unalienable influence for weal or woe is intrusted to her as the *mother of mankind*. She stands at the very *foundation head* of existence, and gives direction and character to the streams which issue from it, and flow, widening and deepening, through eternity. What an attitude of responsibility! Such woman, is *yours*! O see how the world's hopes are anchored in *you*! See mankind's character brought and *laid at your feet*, to receive its first and most permanent impress! What bribe will induce you—Delilah-like—to betray *such trusts*!

It is with these views, Ladies of Ohio, of your duties and influence generally, that we come now to lay before you the subject of American Slavery. This, you are aware, has become an absorbing topic in our state and country. It is a question full of interest. Yet by common consent, it has been regarded as wholly without the sphere of your influence. We are aware, too, that you have generally acquiesced in this judgment—deeming the slavery of the southern states to be a subject in which you could *justly* feel no concern whatever.

You have doubtless been influenced in forming this opinion, by what *appeared* to be weighty reasons.

Among these reasons we presume has been the commonly received idea, that it is improper for *any* of the inhabitants of the free states to interfere with slavery, as it is a system pertaining to other and independent states. You have therefore felt it your duty to stand aloof from a subject, which was interdicted even to your fathers and your brothers. The fallacy of the notion, from which you draw this inference, is now

increasingly seen and acknowledged. Men in the free states are beginning to enlist in the work, not only without any scruple, but with the deepest sense of obligation. We would therefore very confidently urge you to consider again—if you have ever investigated this matter—whether the mere fact that a particular sin exists in a neighboring state or country from that in which *you* live—releases you from all obligation to oppose that sin! If it does not release man, it certainly cannot release woman.

Again: you have been accustomed, in common with most others, to view slavery as a *political* subject, which you could not, with any degree of propriety, meddle with.

When we consider the course which has been pursued by ministers and the church generally, the silence they have preserved, their careful avoidance of the whole subject in their prayers and public ministrations, and their closing the pulpits and churches against all discussions of the question,—we are not surprised that *you* should have entertained the idea that slavery is a political matter.

It is a principal object, permit us to say, of this address, to lay before you such details as will, we trust, convince you that slavery has other bearings beside those that are political—bearings which commend it peculiarly to *your* attention.

To these details we now call your attention, simply remarking, that they relate to those *dreadful effects* of slavery, which appeal with peculiar force to the sympathies of woman.

1. In the first place, we would allude to that *awful sense of insecurity* which pervades slave-holding families. This is an *evil spirit* which must ever haunt the dwellings of slave-holders. They are conscious that 'their enemies are they of their own household.' They know, too, that they are exposed, and that hourly, to danger from a thousand points against which it is impossible to fortify themselves. They may be poisoned through their food or drink—they may be strangled in their beds—their brains may be dashed out on the field by an unexpected blow from some desperate man, whose next act may be to kill himself—they may be dragged from their tables, from their fire-sides, or from the family-altar itself—or their houses may be fired at midnight, and themselves butchered as they fly from the flames.

Such things, they know, *may* take place at any moment. That they have not occurred hitherto, or lately, affords no assurance that they will not burst forth in an hour. The consequence is, that dreadful state of insecurity already alluded to. A man can scarcely be absent a night, without providing

a friend to sleep in his house as a *guard* to his wife and children. Mr. Randolph—himself a slave-holder—declared that ‘every master was a sentinel at his own door.’

A whole village may at any time, upon the slightest suspicion or alarm, be thrown into the wildest consternation—presenting a scene which would beggar description. Men hurrying to and fro, seizing in their frenzy, clubs, stones, butcher-knives, hoes and axes—women flying through the streets with their infants in their arms, or crowded, half naked, with their little ones, in a ware-house or church. From every quarter may be heard screams of terror, implorings of mercy, mingled prayers and curses, cries of ‘insurrection, murder, to arms, to arms!’—and all that confusion which arises from fright and defencelessness. Such things not infrequently occur!

The following graphic description of one of these scenes—that which followed upon the Southampton massacre—is given by Mr. McDowell of the Virginia legislature. Replying to one who had called that insurrection a ‘petty affair,’ he asks, ‘Was that a “petty affair” which drove families from their homes, which assembled women and children, in crowds, and without shelter, at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity? which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion, which so banished all sense of security from every man’s dwelling, that let but a hoof or a horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart;—the husband would look to his weapon, and the mother would shudder and weep over her cradle.’

The same gentleman testifies that this dreadful condition of things was not confined merely to the neighborhood of Southampton; but that it grows out of causes, which make it both *general* and *permanent*. ‘Was it the fear,’ he asks, ‘of Nat Turner, and his deluded, drunken, handful of followers, which produced such effects? Was it this that induced *distant countries*, where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir: it was the *suspicion* incessantly exercised toward the *slave everywhere*—the *suspicion* that a Nat Turner might be in every family, that the same bloody deed could be acted over *at any time* and *at any place*. Yes: it is the *withering apprehension* which every slave-holder in this land carries in his *own conscience*, that the slaves have been *outraged, insulted and wronged, which makes the sound in his ears!*’

Such is a picture of the domestic state of slave-holding families! Let us now inquire, sisters, is this no concern of yours?

Is *this* a *political* matter? Should it not interest you to know that a system exists which banishes *tranquillity* from the bosom of the family? Who *will* be interested in such a fact, if you are not? Who *ought* to be?

Your voice should be heard the loudest and the first in defence of that domestic peace which it is your peculiar province to secure. God expects it of you—nay, more: God and the perishing hopes of the world *demand* that you direct your influence against every system which dares to invade the repose of the family-circle. You cannot *throw off* this responsibility—will you *shrink from* it?

2. We would next refer to the horrid influence of slavery upon the *disposition* and general character of those who maintain the system. It is a certain truth, that the habitual exercise of arbitrary power begets a ferocious temper, and converts even the most amiable into monsters of ungovernable passion. The testimony of philosophers, statesmen, sages and slave-holders, is uniform on this point; and their testimony is abundantly established by facts. Did we have ground, either in reason or observation, to believe that women escaped these distortions, there would be less propriety in soliciting the co-operation of ladies. But alas! it is too sadly true, that if woman will become a slave-holder, she must consent to sacrifice all the tenderness of her nature. The following fact, which, though it relates to West India slavery, is no less applicable to American slavery, will serve to illustrate the tendencies of slave-holding upon woman's character:

It was related by a clergyman—formerly of England—now residing in this country.

'A lady, now in the West Indies, was sent in her infancy to her friends near Belfast, in Ireland, for education. She remained under their charge from five to fifteen years of age, and grew up everything which her friends could wish. At fifteen, she returned to the West Indies—was married there—and after some years paid her friends near Belfast a second visit. Toward white people she was the same elegant and interesting child as before;—appeared full of every virtuous and tender feeling. But towards the colored people *she was like a tigress*. If Wilberforce's name was mentioned, she would say, "Oh, I wish we had that wretch in the West Indies, I would be one of the first to help to tear his heart out." And then she would tell of the manner in which the West India ladies used to treat their slaves. "I have often," she said, "when my women have displeased me, *snatched their babes* from their arms, and running with them to the well, have

tied my shawl around their shoulders, and pretended to be drowning them. Oh, it was so *ridiculous* to hear the mothers scream!"—and then she would laugh almost convulsively at the recollection.'

What is that which could thus pervert all the native sensibilities of a delicate young lady, transforming her into a 'tigress'—what is that but a detestable system? Suffer us then to remind you, that a large and interesting portion of your sex, in your own country, are exposed this day to all the horrid distortions of such a system.

And now do you ask, 'how does this concern us?' Does it not appeal directly to you? The slanderer, who blackens your reputation, does not pass your tribunal with impunity. The drunkard, who breaks up the peace of his family, and drives his wife and children from their home, is denounced by you. Your voice of reprobation is raised against the seducer, because he conspires against your virtue.

But here is a demon, who withers by his touch *all the peculiar graces of woman*, and transforms her into—what shall we say? Look and answer. See where this demon has left his mark. If we groupe together a few out of the ten thousand hideous attitudes into which it has thrown woman, what a shocking scene of deformity does it not present to the view! There, in one part of the picture, is woman, with a *cow-hide* in her hands, and plying it on the naked back of a slave!—There, hard by, is woman, with her hair dishevelled and rage depicted on every feature, stamping upon a prostrate woman!—There also is woman, pursuing, *club in hand*, an affrighted girl, who flies from her oft experienced wrath!—There too, is woman, swelling with the fiercest passion, storming, threatening, cursing, and calling down death, and even damnation, upon the victim who escapes from her hands!—There, *again*, is woman standing by, while her husband is scourging the naked body of her servant girl, and instead of beseeching him to have mercy, she cheers him on, and responds to every blow of his, with a kick on the head of the poor sufferer!—[A fact.] In another part of the picture is a woman pinching her servant's nose with red-hot tongs!—[Another fact.] But, darkest of all this dark picture, there is woman *selling* woman—*mother selling mother*—*wife selling wife*—woman herself sundering, *with her own hands*, all the ties of nature, to gratify revenge or procure money!

Sisters, do not turn away from this sight, saying it is too shocking to look at. Were it a fancy picture, it would indeed be wrong—unpardonable wrong—to harrow up your feel-



ings by presenting it before you. But alas! it is fact—fact, did we say—it is only a dim shadow of the dreadful reality which is daily acting out in our own country.

And yet shall we be told that the ladies of the free states have no interest in such things as these? Are you to be informed, sisters of Ohio, that you have *no right to feel* in view of a system which is virtually forced, by man, upon your sisters at the south, and is now rioting upon their choicest virtues? Are you to be told that it is improper for you to speak for the dignity of your sex, and to proclaim your abhorrence of a practice, which, by its horrid distortions of female character, makes the very *name* of woman a reproach? And will you *believe* it, and will you tremble at the insolent demand to *keep your place*, and shrink away into silence until your sex becomes the laughing-stock of men, and the disgrace of human nature?

God forbid! We place these responsibilities before you, and we trust that you will not be deterred from meeting them by all the frowns and menaces of an unhallowed public sentiment.

3. But that feature in the slave system which appeals most strongly to female sympathy, is the *ruin of family relations among the slaves*. Slavery, by its laws, as well as in its practice, abrogates marriage, separates, at the pleasure of the master, those united by heaven-created ties, and tramples upon the most sacred attachments of social life. It is a fact for woman to note, that slavery is the *only system in the world* which annihilates the family institution. Despotism, which withholds civil rights and imposes many grievous burthens, almost uniformly leaves its victims their domestic enjoyments. Even War, ruthless as *he* is, with his front of blood, and his trooping legions of furies, *falters* as he lifts his battle-ax against the door that locks in the mother and her trembling babes. There is a sacredness in the *idea of family*, which throws its restraining and abashing influences around even these relentless foes of mankind. But slavery submits to no restraints. This monster has no heart.

Where other systems stop, appalled and disarmed, Slavery starts with fresh ferocity. After robbing man of all legal protection, denying him his wages, scourging his body and blighting his mind, it pushes on its ravages to the last retreat of human happiness—and scatters the family.

This *peculiar* feature of slavery is its most *horrid* one. O if this system did but leave the *family circle* unbroken, its other outrages, numberless and woful as they are, might be

borne. Yes: the poor victim of oppression may lose, one by one, his civil rights, his property and his personal protection, and yet his spirit can sustain itself, so long as he is surrounded with the sympathies and solaces of his little family.

Yea, he may be driven to the field to labor without recompense, he may be scourged without pity, he may be reviled and buffeted and trampled upon; but only let him know that there is one little retreat—a cabin or a cave though it be—*where wife and children be*,—only leave him that one humble spot, and he has a refuge, an asylum. But let that little spot be laid waste—and persecuted humanity ‘has nowhere to lay its head’—the centre of man’s hopes is gone—the elements of his earthly happiness are destroyed. We wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not now indulging in a sickly sentimentality. We regard these as truths, viz.—that the *centre of earthly bliss lies within the family circle*—that no form of evil, which does not reach that centre, can wholly destroy human peace—and lastly, that when the family circle is invaded and broken up, social happiness has received its death-stab! Now this is the very ruin which slavery effects. It destroys the family relations. It robs its victim of every personal right, and then denies to him this single spot to rest his weary foot upon. It drives human happiness from one strong hold to another, till it seeks a last refuge in the heart, and there *kills it!*

Ye, ladies, that know, better than we can describe them, the nameless joys which cluster about the family, do you see these *ravages of the family*? Do you see this only monster that dares to invade the *family*, and do you see how he exalteth himself in that hallowed place, making the family room his presence chamber, the very altar itself of family devotions his throne, and the domestic fire-side the scene of his most atrocious cruelties? Yes, sisters, you know these things, and now we earnestly inquire, What shall be done? Who shall act in this emergency? Who is the heaven-appointed guardian of the fire-side? It is woman; and sisters, the call is to *you*. The family altar has been invaded, the hearth stone is desolate, the innocent ones are scattered. Broken affections, sundered ties, and bleeding heart-strings are around you. Millions, with their voiceless eloquence, are appealing to your sympathies. Hear a bereaved mother—

'White Lady, happy, proud and free,  
 Lend a listening ear to me:  
 Let a negro-mother's wail,  
 Turn thy pale cheek still more pale.  
 Can a negro-mother joy  
 Over this her captive boy  
 Which in bondage and in tears  
 For a life of wee, she rears?  
 — Though she bears a mother's name,  
 A mother's rights she may not claim,  
 For the white man's will can part  
 Her darling from her bursting heart.' —

Can *mothers* be deaf to such an appeal? Sisters, can you be persuaded that wrongs and sufferings like these, which cut around the whole circle of family bliss, are of no manner of interest to you? In the name of humanity, what have you a right to be interested in? Has it come to this, that you must see wives torn from their husbands, and mothers from their children, and yet be *forbidden* to sympathize, or *abused* for expressing your abhorrence of these enormities? Must you quell the heaving emotion, and rebuke feeling, and dry up the tear, and keep down nature, and *bury womanhood*; lest, by following their warm dictates, you should leave *your proper sphere*?

When, aroused by the wail of Sundered families, all others are beginning to start from their insensibility—when the tides of feeling are rolling toward the oppressed—when the civilized world is moving from its lowest foundation, quickened by the mighty impulse—when insulted liberty and profaned religion join heart and voice and hand against their common foe—and when *man* is stirring himself up to an unflinching conflict with this Demon of the Pit,—shall *woman* be still? Shall she be deaf to the cries which are summoning forth the sympathies of the sterner sex?

Then, indeed, will she have *deserted her peculiar sphere*? Then will she have forgotten to be woman, and have forfeited all claim to the title of sister, mother, wife! —

But we have not yet done with the reasons which should induce you to enlist in our present undertaking. A regard for your patience will not suffer us to dwell at length upon other reasons. We will only say that slavery forces itself upon your consideration, from the fact that it brings its heaviest plagues upon your sex—driving woman to the field, exposing her in every condition of weakness to inclemencies of weather and rigorous treatment, reducing her to the condition of a beast of burthen, and leaving her person the defenceless prey of every brutal man. The whole sex is inevitably in-

volved in the disgrace which is thus brought upon one portion of it; and this leads us to say that slavery is a subject *full* of interest to you, because the evil is not confined to the enslaved and the enslaver; but spreads its poison over the whole country—affecting most seriously the interests of woman.

Wherever despotism has prevailed, woman has been degraded. The spirit of oppression is essentially hostile to woman, its constituent principle being that ‘the strong should rule the weak.’ And now, sisters, mark our word—your sex never can be elevated to its true dignity and to the enjoyment of its dearest rights, in any part of our country, so long as slavery, which embodies this corrupt principle, exists among us.

Furthermore: this is a question of vital interest to you, because slavery itself must extend beyond the colored race. A spirit so ferocious as that of slavery, will not long be satisfied with making the black man its prey. *Color* is but a feeble barrier, and who can tell how long ere it will be broken down? And then—ah then—you, we, our children, may be numbered among the victims of oppression. Our families will then be scattered, and we may lift up our unavailing cry for mercy. Who can trust the spirit of slavery? The monster who will tear a sable mother from her children, and then mock her *childless woe*, only waits the power to break into *your* house, and snatch your little ones from you. And remember, the spirit of slavery is spreading with alarming rapidity, insomuch that thousands of hearts begin to tremble in apprehension of the rueful day when slavery may plant its roots deep in *our own soil*. Beware then, mothers, and *act in time!*

Lastly: it is reason enough why *you* should be interested in the cause of anti-slavery, that it is pre-eminently a cause of benevolence and mercy. It is *not* a political question—it is a religious question. It is not a fanatical crusade—it is an enterprise full of justice and humanity. It is the cause of peace and purity, of kindness and brotherly love. The oppressed are waiting for the results of our efforts, and as they feel the iron of their bondage, they ask us, ‘*how long?*’

The God of the oppressed is looking solicitously down, and while his parental heart is rent with anguish for his enslaved children, he graciously affords us a short space for effort. *Soon* he must terminate our privilege and their bondage, with the strong arm of his wrath! The slave *must be free*; but unless we unite in the most vigorous action, the oppressor will be

destroyed, and *we* for our unfaithfulness will be involved in his punishment.

At such a time as this, when perils thicken about our path—when the hopes of the slave, *our* liberties, the destiny of our children, our nation's existence, and the cause of freedom throughout the world, are all at stake—sisters, at such a time as this, where will you be found? Shrinking? Cowering? Alesc?—Or will you not rather wake up your slumbering influence and enlist in the cause of righteousness?

Do you ask what can *we* do to further the cause of immediate emancipation? Hear a few suggestions from us. The following items we would urge upon you to consider with deep deliberation:

1. You can petition Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Your voice ought to be heard on this question. It is due to your sex that our government, which professes such regard for the rights and dignity of woman, should no longer tolerate at its very seat a system which is more degrading to woman than Heathenism, and more insulting than Despotism.

2. You can aid in the dissemination of truth, by circulating papers, tracts, pamphlets, &c., besides also contributing to the support of agents.

3. You can write in behalf of the oppressed. There is more than one woman, in this country, who has done honor to her sex by her writings on this subject. It devolves upon you to keep the public attention turned toward those bearings of the question, which affect your sex and domestic relations in general. Who so well fitted to present these views of the subject as woman? Who can dwell upon them so feelingly—who can tell the story of woman's suffering, as mother, wife, daughter, sister, so affectingly as woman?

4. You can contribute to the encouragement of colored schools. Efforts are now making, on a very extensive scale, to instruct the people of color in this state, especially those living in the villages and cities. Young ladies and gentlemen are already engaged in the work of instruction, with great success in Cincinnati and elsewhere. In Cincinnati, three young ladies of liberal education, qualified to superintend the first rank of female academies, have been thus employed for two years in co operation with several gentlemen. The improvement which they have wrought among the colored people of that city, is quite manifest. While, therefore, there are those, even of your own sex, who are willing to sacrifice personal ease, and devote *themselves*, amid neglect and contempt,

to the elevation of the down-cast and down-trodden free people of color, it will be but rational to expect that you will share in the *pecuniary* sacrifices necessary to sustain these self-denying missionaries.

We would earnestly commend this department of the cause to your patronage and prayers. The victims of our own prejudice and neglect, surely have a claim upon *us* for their elevation; and it should never be lost sight of, that the improvement of the free colored people will operate powerfully upon the cause of emancipation, by demonstrating that the colored man is *susceptible* of cultivation.

5. You can labor among your female friends—taking as large a circuit as your leisure, or rather your *other duties*, will permit—and thus you may extend all around you the spirit of hostility to slavery. You will not need eloquence or ‘much learning,’ in order to accomplish this end.

The story of the poor slave is simple and short—just a recital of ruined hopes, and sundered ties, and broken hearts—and surely no one can tell this story better than woman. By a course of visiting and faithful conversation, a single woman may be instrumental in forming a Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society in the neighborhood.

6. You can exert a mighty influence over all who belong to your own families. Your husbands will often hear the truth from you, when they would close their ears, and house, against a lecturer, or burn up an anti-slavery paper. You may also induce them to attend anti-slavery meetings by going yourselves.

Over your *children* your influence will be still greater. Indeed you must, in a great measure, stand responsible for the opinions they entertain and the course they take on this question. Who are more chargeable *than mothers* with the present state of public sentiment, on the subject of slavery, in Ohio? Who are responsible to the extent to which *they* are, for the wicked and oppressive prejudice against *color*—for the hatred of the negro, both free and bond—for the prevailing indifference as to the *sinfulness* of slavery—for the bitter opposition to emancipation, which manifests itself in abstaining from discussion, holding pro-slavery meetings, and raising mobs? The truth is too palpable to be mistaken. The sons of Ohio, and the other *free states*, have not been taught by their *mothers* to *abhor slavery*—nay, they have been taught to sympathize with the oppressor, and to regard the slave in a better condition than he *could* enjoy, in *this country*, if free.—Mothers, is not this true? Alas, it might have been otherwise!

and now shall it not be otherwise with the coming generation? Let every mother in Ohio bring her children daily around the family altar, and make them vow eternal hatred to slavery. Begin with the first dawn of thought—watch the earliest rise of sympathy—and breathe into the tender soul the story of the suffering slave. That story will never be forgotten. Let hatred of oppression be a part of your children's education, a part of their religion—let it be incorporated into their very being. Then we will no longer see your sons flocking to the south to become slave-holders—they will no longer aspire to the rank of overseers and drivers—nor will they be seen at home mobbing their fellow-citizens who are striving to commence the great reformation. But they will themselves be a generation of abolitionists.

7. You can exert a great influence over slave-holders visiting in your families. There is a vast and increasing intercourse between the north and the south. Slave-holders, with their families, spend the summers at the north. Of course females will come in contact with them unavoidably, in the family, around the table, about the fire-side, and elsewhere. Thus you will have abundant opportunities of conversing with them—showing them the sin of slavery—and urging them to abandon it. Much has been done in this way already, and that too without necessarily violating the laws of courtesy and hospitality. However, in respect of this, as of every other sin, you should be faithful with the sinner, *though he be offended.*

8. If you can do nothing else, you can feel and pray, and thus sustain those who are in the front of the battle. We know that God is with us, and if we only keep humble and prayerful, we doubt not he will give us the victory—*and that soon.* Will not our sisters lay hold of the arm of God?

9. In conclusion, let us say, that by enlisting in the cause of immediate emancipation and identifying with it your name and sex, you will effectually raise it above the contempt and violence of its enemies. The majority of mankind, you are aware, estimate a cause, not according to its real merits, but by the character and standing of its *friends*; and when these are exclusively *men*, however reputable they may be, the cause is regarded as vulgar and base, and is either wholly neglected or contemptuously treated. Anti-slavery principles must have a lodgment in the domestic retreat, as well as in the shops and counting-rooms; and they must find advocates in the parlor, as well as in the court-house and church,

before they will ever receive that consideration which their importance demands.

Sisters! we now have done. Our views are before you. The estimate which we have placed upon your duties and influence is high; but in making it we have not been actuated by a spirit of exaggeration or flattery. It is in accordance with our real sentiments. With what feelings then must we see all your influence arrayed against us? How can we reflect that, by your indifference or opposition, your fathers and husbands and brothers are to continue the enemies of our holy cause? How shall we bear the thought, that contempt and scorn and persecution are to assail us *through your denial of us*, and that mobs will feel countenanced by your standing aloof? Above all, how can we be reconciled to the idea that your children are to be imbued *by you*, with the same prejudice and hostility which their fathers feel toward us?

We could not longer submit to such a state of things, without an effort—without an urgent appeal to your reason and heart—without rolling your responsibilities upon you, and striving to make you feel their weight.

And now, sisters, shall all these things be in vain! No: it cannot be. You will rejoice to labor in a field where your energies can find full scope. You will unlock the treasures of your sympathies, and pour them forth in this cause. You will gird yourselves for a work so glorious, and fraught with the liberty, the happiness, and the hopes of millions. No longer will your ear be deaf to the sound of the lash. No longer will you turn away from sights of blood and mangled females. You will weep over these things, and you will speak of them in tones of melting pity which will touch other hearts. You will join hands and hearts in this blessed work, and awaken your tenderest and warmest feelings—until the vast tide of your mingled emotions shall heave only for the slave. Nor will you be without your great reward when, as the result of your labors, you shall behold parents, children, brothers, sisters, returning from their dreary separations and rejoicing and weeping in each other's embraces. This will be reward enough, to see the father fall upon the neck of his long-lost son, and the woe-worn mother clasp in her aged arms that daughter who was torn from the same bosom, when yet an infant. And oh, it will be a consummation of your bliss, when these re-united families, locked in a common embrace, point to you as the authors of their happiness, and rise up together to call you blessed.



## AN ADDRESS

## TO THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO SLAVERY.

## NO. 1.

The duty of the church on the subject of slavery, must be determined by the sacred Scriptures. These are the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The question then arises, Do the Scriptures condemn slavery, as it exists in our country, as a sin? In order to determine this question with the utmost certainty, it is necessary to inquire, whether our slavery is the same kind of servitude authorized in the nation of Israel? That there was a kind of servitude allowed in Israel, must be admitted. That there were both Hebrew and Gentile servants who were distinguished from hired servants, cannot be denied: they were bought with money. The point now to be determined is, was that service voluntary or involuntary? Did these persons sell themselves, and receive an equivalent for their services? or were they stolen and sold by others, and compelled to serve without wages? With regard to the Hebrew servants, the matter is clear. They sold themselves: Lev. xxv. 47. 'And if a sojourner or a stranger was rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him was poor, and sold himself unto the stranger, he may be redeemed.' This passage shows that poor Hebrews sold themselves for servants, and received an equivalent for their services. The servitude of Hebrew servants, then, was voluntary, and for an equivalent. But did the Gentile servants sell themselves, or did others steal them and sell them? Were they compelled to serve without wages, or did they receive an equivalent for their services? The Israelites were permitted to buy heathen that were round about them, and strangers that lived among them: Lev. xxv. 44, 45. 'Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession.' The heathen and the stranger might alike be bought. Both were free, and ~~who~~ but themselves, could have a right to sell them? The Hebrews were not allowed to steal them: and to buy them from such as had stolen them, would be no better. But none could, without incurring the penalty of

death, steal those who dwell in the land of Israel. Hence it is evident, that the Hebrews could purchase none but such as sold themselves; and, of course, could hold them to service no longer than the term specified in the purchase. If they might buy those that were stolen, why buy at all? Why not steal them themselves at once, and save their money? The fact that they bought those who lived in the land, when they had power to reduce them to servitude without purchase, shows that the common principles of justice were regarded; so that the servants bought, were bought from themselves, and paid for their services. Perhaps parents who were unable to maintain their children, might sell them for such a term as they had a right to their services. But there is no reason to believe that the Father of the universe ever allowed a parent to sell his own children into slavery for life. And if He did not allow the parent to commit such a crime against natural affection, surely He did not permit his people to encourage such wickedness. If the parent had no right to sell, the Hebrews had no right to purchase. The fact that the Hebrews had to buy their servants, shows that the principles of justice were strictly regarded, and that an equivalent was paid for the service. It may be objected, that it is said, that the children of the Hebrews should have these servants for an inheritance after their parents. To this it may be replied, that in case the parents died before the term of service was up, the children would have a right to the service due to their parents.

Again: It may be said that the servants were to be a possession forever, and that, of course, they must have been property just as slaves are in modern times. To this it may be answered, that if the term forever be taken in a literal sense, it is evident that the same individuals could not be servants forever. And if the term be limited, it is as reasonable to suppose, that it was limited by the contract between the master and servant as by anything else. The passage seems to mean, that the Hebrews might by successive purchase, continually possess that kind of servants, and not, that they might hold the same individuals during life. No contract for service could be valid beyond the Jubilee. At that period all contracts were up, and all servitude was terminated. Liberty must be proclaimed throughout all the land—'unto all the inhabitants thereof.' Lev. xxv. 10.

The interpretation now given of the servitude of the Gentiles among the Israelites, is in accordance with the laws made for the protection of the stranger. 'Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him;' Exod. xxii. 21. 'Thou shalt not

pervert the judgment of the stranger:' Deut. xxiv. 17. 'Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates. At this day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it, for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it: lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee:' Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.—Nothing could be a more direct violation of these statutes, than the practice of such slavery as exists in our slave-holding states. Nothing could more vex and oppress the stranger, than to hold him in such bondage. To defraud the stranger of a single day's labor, is set down as a grievous sin: how much more grievous is the sin of taking from him both his liberty and his labor for life!

The servitude in Israel was voluntary, and the servants were paid for their services. They could be held no longer than the term for which they contracted. They had a right to hold property. They differed from hired servants chiefly in the length of the term for which they contracted, and in being adopted into the family of their masters, so as to entitle them to the religious privileges of children. They were circumcised as adopted sons, and had an equal right with the Hebrews to the passover. The standing of the servant in society, was the same with that of his master's family. 'Samuel made Saul and his servant sit in the chiefest place among them that were bidden, which were about thirty persons:' 1 Sam. ix. 22. A hired servant was at liberty to leave his master sooner than the servant bought with money; but in other respects he had fewer privileges. If a master abused his servant so far as to knock out but a single tooth, the servant so injured was free from further service. The servitude in Israel was similar to apprenticeship in our country. An apprentice is bound to service for a number of years; he becomes, for the time, a member of his master's family; he should be treated as his master's children; he is a bond-man, but not a slave; his standing in society is just as good as if he were free; he receives an equivalent for his services; and his master may correct, but not abuse him. All allow that this kind of servitude is just, and that such servants ought to 'count their own masters worthy of all honor.' The bondmen among the Hebrews were not slaves, any more than apprentices in modern times. That interpretation which makes the Scriptures justify slavery, involves a palpable contradiction, and is wholly inconsistent with divine inspiration. This is evident from a variety of considerations.

1. The Scriptures represent all men as having sprung from one common parent—all as 'made of one blood.' Consequently, all are created equally free. Whatever rights the first man had, all his children must have. God created no slaves. He gave to all men the same original rights. One man has just as much right to freedom as another.

2. The Scriptures represent man as being created for the service of God. Happiness, in connection with the glory of his Creator, is represented as being the great end of his existence. With this, slavery is wholly inconsistent.

3. The Scriptures enjoin such duties upon all men as are entirely opposed to slavery. Children are commanded to obey their parents; and parents are commanded to bring up their children 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' All are commanded to keep the Sabbath, and to attend upon the public ordinances of religion. With all these slavery interferes; and indeed, the same is true with respect to every other injunction to the open practice of christian duty. A cruel and wicked master may prevent the slave from discharging any of the common duties of christianity.

4. The Scriptures represent marriage as the common privilege of mankind. 'Marriage is honorable to all;' 'for this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh;' and 'what God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' But slavery annihilates the right of marriage. The master may either prevent the slave from marrying, or separate him from his wife when married. A man may leave his father and his mother, who have a better right to him than any other being can have, and cleave unto his wife; but he may not leave his master for such purpose! How glaring is the absurdity of slavery! The institution of marriage shows that parents have no right to hold their own children beyond mature age, and of course, can have no right to sell them to others beyond that period. Hence it is impossible that slavery should exist without the flagrant violation of justice.

5. The Scriptures represent man as having a right to acquire and hold property in land and in beasts, and as being crowned with glory and honor, and set over the works of God's hands, being made but a little lower than the angels. Such a representation regards the entire family of man, and is strikingly opposed to slavery. All men are set over the works of God's hands, and have an equal right to acquire and hold property; and consequently, man cannot have the right to hold property in his fellow-man.

6. The law of love enjoined by the Scriptures forbids slavery. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' 'I say unto you, love your enemies.' 'Do good unto all men.' 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.' No man would wish another either to make him a slave, or to hold him in slavery, because he had bought him from one who had no right to sell him; and consequently, no man can hold a slave and at the same time fulfil the law of love. The law of love not only prohibits every species of injury to our fellow-men, but it enjoins the positive doing of good to every human being so far as we have opportunity. That slavery is a positive injury, cannot be intelligently and honestly denied; and therefore it must be opposed to the law of love.

7. The Scriptures expressly call slavery oppression. 'And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigor. And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field. And I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them;' Exod. i. 13, 14, 39. The Egyptians reduced the Israelites to slavery in two respects. They compelled the males to involuntary service, and gave them no compensation. In these two particulars it was the same kind of slavery that exists in the United States.

The colored people are compelled to involuntary service, and they are not compensated for their services. In other respects the condition of the Hebrews was much better than that of the colored people. The males only were enslaved, and they were not bought and sold, and separated from their families. The cruelty in putting the male children to death, did not equal the cruelty of the domestic slave trade. Upon the whole, the slavery of Egypt was less oppressive than ours. Our slavery, then, is oppression even worse than that endured by Israel in Egypt. It is oppression in the judgment of God, and in the judgment of all honest men; and hence it is forbidden in the Scriptures a thousand times over.

That the Scriptures call slavery oppression, is also evident from Isaiah lviii. 6: 'Is not this the fast I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye brake every yoke?' The Hebrews began to practice slavery like the heathen around them; but God commanded them to let the oppressed slave go free, and thus to brake every yoke. Hence the Scriptures forbid slavery as it exists among us, and as they forbid oppression; and the Scriptures teach us that the

laborer is worthy of his reward. But in slavery the laborer is not paid for his labor; hence the Scriptures forbid slavery as often as they forbid defrauding the laborer. If to defraud a hired laborer out of a single day's labor is a sin, surely to compel a man to labor during life, and give no wages, must be a thousand fold greater. The fact that the man has been bought from one that had no right to sell him, only aggravates the sin. The severest judgments are denounced against those who defraud the laborer. 'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' James v. 1, 4. This denunciation must lie against slave-holders: the hire is by fraud kept back from slaves.

9. The Scriptures forbid slavery under the heaviest penalty. 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, *shall surely be put to death*.' Exod. xxi. 16. The design of stealing a man is to make him a slave. Hence in the judgments of God, to make a man a slave is a crime worthy of death: the very penalty annexed to murder, and stated in still stronger terms—'he shall *surely* be put to death.'

God not only prohibited slavery in Israel under the penalty of death, but he commanded his people to protect every slave that should escape to them from the surrounding nations—'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee; thou shalt not oppress him.' Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. The heathen nations around Israel were guilty of the sin of slavery; and God's people were prohibited from being partakers of that sin by giving up fugitive slaves. At the peril of war they must protect the slave that escaped to them. To aid the heathen in holding them they had stolen, would be the same in effect as to steal them. Nothing can be more plainly and decidedly forbidden than slavery is in the Old Testament Scriptures. The New Testament recognizes the same prohibition as still in force. Paul says the law was made 'for men-stealers.' 1 Tim. i. 10. The original word rendered men-stealers, includes all who in any way enslave their fellow-men—whether by man-stealing, slave-dealing, or slave-holding. It may be as properly rendered slave-holders, as man-stealers. The crime of man-stealing consists in depriving men of their liberty. This the slave-holder does as certainly and as unjustly, as the man-stealer. The slave has in himself, by the gift of God, the inherent right of liberty; his right is equal to that

of every other man. The fact that he has been brought up in slavery, or that he has been stolen and sold into slavery, cannot in the least affect his title to liberty. Nor can the fact that the state ordains that he shall be a slave, give the least right to hold him. And government is ordained to protect the rights of men, and not to give rights, nor to take them away, except so far as God has permitted for the punishment of crimes against the rights of others. God never gave to civil government the right of making slaves of innocent men. The state, then, has no more right to compel a man to hold a slave, than it has to compel a man to commit murder. There is then, no possible source from which the slave-holder can obtain the right to hold a slave; and consequently he is guilty of taking away the inherent rights of his fellow-man, and is guilty of the very sin forbidden in the law against man-stealing.

It is often said that we ought to leave slavery just where Christ and his apostles left it. And where was that? Just where the Old Testament Scriptures left it—under the sentence of *death*! ‘He that stealeth a man, or selleth him, or if he be found in his hand,’ that is, whether he steals, sells, or holds him, ‘shall *surely* be put to death.’ The law was made ‘for men-stealers.’ ‘Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and right.’ If hired, give them wages; if bond-servants, such as apprentices, or those that have bound themselves to service for a term of years, treat them kindly and give them an equivalent for their services; if slaves, set them at liberty, and remunerate them for the injury done them. Nothing less would be just and equal. Paul makes it the duty of a servant to be free if he can obtain his liberty: ‘If thou mayest be free, use it rather.’ If this is applicable to any kind of a servant, it must be to a slave. If it be the duty of the slave to obtain his freedom if he can, it cannot be the duty of the master to hold it from him. Did not Christ and his apostles condemn oppression? Did they not teach that the laborer is worthy of his reward? Did they not condemn defrauding the laborer? Did they not recognize the law against man-stealing? Did they not condemn slavery in all its parts, and as a whole? All the constituent parts of slavery are forbidden by Christ and his apostles in the clearest terms; and it is as a whole forbidden as man-stealing.

It is then clear from the Scriptures, that slavery is a sin, and one of the greatest magnitude. It is positively and plainly forbidden under the severest penalty.

We are now prepared to point out the duty of the church

in relation to slavery. It is the duty of the church in all her various branches, to bear testimony against it in proportion to the magnanimity of its criminality. This should be done,

1. By the public preaching of the gospel. Every minister of the gospel is as much bound to preach against the sin of slavery, as against the sin of murder. God has said, 'he that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: but in the case of slavery he has added, *surely* he shall;' 'he that stealeth a man shall *surely* be put to death. In view of the evil and cruelty of slavery, it is no wonder that God should set such a penalty against it. How vast the amount of murder that has resulted from slavery in the United States! All that have perished by the slave trade, by change of climate, by oppressive labor, by starvation, by cruel scourging and direct violence, must amount to millions! All this blood lies upon this nation! All this could have been prevented by adopting the divine law against man-stealing, into the civil code at the proper time. What a mercy it would have been to this ruined nation! Slavery in every age has been a system of murder, and must ever continue to be such. This is, no doubt, one reason why God forbid it under the penalty of death.

Again: nothing can be productive of more misery in this life than slavery. It breaks up all the tender relations of life. Eternity alone can reveal the amount of sorrows resulting from the sale of slaves; and vast is the amount that results to them from other sources.

The worst feature of slavery is, that it destroys the souls of men. It takes away from the slaves the key of knowledge, and the power of providing for themselves and their children the means of grace. There are now two millions of slaves in the Union, that are deprived of the privilege of learning to read the word of God. Vast numbers of them are in the hands of infidel masters, who will not permit them to hear the gospel. The right to marriage is abolished, and thus the prominent means to purity is taken from them. They cannot train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. A thousand obstructions are thrown in the way of life. Every fountain of vice is opened upon them; and thus the continued tendency of slavery is to deeper and still deeper ignorance and degradation; and the ever swelling tide of moral death bears the hapless immortals down to endless sorrows.

The tendency of slavery upon the free population is deplorable. It is the channel to every vicious indulgence.



Idleness, intemperance, gambling and debauchery, are its genuine fruits; and it is itself a soul-destroying sin. How vast the multitude of masters and slaves that go down together to the pit of endless destruction! No system of wickedness can be better calculated to destroy the souls of men. Should not then the gospel ministry, whose business is to save souls, unite all their energies against it? Should they not lift up their voice like a trumpet, cry aloud, and spare not? If they fail to warn, will not God require the blood of the souls that perish at their hands?

And who can estimate the worth of souls? The brightest seraph that stands nearest the throne of God could not, in millions of ages, estimate the worth of a single soul. The time will come in eternity, when the soul of the meanest slave saved, shall have enjoyed more happiness than has yet been enjoyed by all the created beings in the vast universe; and then that soul will be no nearer an end of happiness than when it first entered heaven! None but God could redeem a soul; and heaven's treasures were exhausted in the purchase. And shall millions of souls be deprived of the word of life? Shall the image of God, and the purchase of a Saviour's love, be bought and sold like beasts? Shall God be robbed of the services of immortal beings? Shall they who were made but a little lower than the angels, be chained down to endless night? And shall gospel ministers, sent to warn the world of sin, stand silent by and let the tide of death roll on? Shall they fold their hands to rest while the waves of eternal death are tossing heaven-high, and burying millions in endless ruin? Wee to that minister who stains his garments in the blood of souls, and like Cain, with hands reeking with a brother's blood, says, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' It is vain to say that slavery is a political evil—that ministers should not interfere with politics. Will such an excuse avail at the bar of God when the judgment shall sit? The gospel ministry are sent to be the light of the world. The Saviour declares they 'are the light of the world.' Who but the ministers of Christ are to enlighten civil government? The sacred Scriptures are the standard of morals for government, as well as for individuals. And never will government reform while gospel ministers keep back the truth. The church must always be first in reform; and the ministry should always lead in the way to reformation. Let it not be said that it will do no good to preach against slavery. It is the business of the disciple to bear his testimony, and leave the event with his master. He is sent to reprove every sin, and to declare the whole counsel

of God; and then, if men refuse to hear, and perish in their sins, the ambassador of Christ is free from their blood: but if he fail to do his duty, their blood shall be required at his hand. No minister can determine how much good may result from reproving popular sins; nor is it his business to determine such matters.

2. It is the duty of the church to exclude all slave-holders from her communion. Slavery has been shown to be a sin of the greatest magnitude. The tenure by which every slave is held is in itself unjust, independent of the motives by which he is held. Good motives may be a mitigation of crime; but they can never make a thing right that is wrong in itself. The civil law makes the slave property; it gives the master power to retain him only because he is his property: the moment he ceases to be his property he is free. This tenure is in itself unjust, and cannot be made right by good motives. The tenure by which an apprentice is held, the Scriptures clearly justify. It results from fair contract between parties having the right to make the proper stipulations. Similar to this was the Jewish servitude. The apprentice is a bond-servant, but not a slave. He is not property: he is not liable to be sold for his master's debts.

The same is true of the tenure by which parents hold their children in a state of minor age; it is clearly justified by the word of God, and is founded upon the principles of justice. The tenure by which the slave is held is the very reverse of that by which children and apprentices are held: it has no foundation in justice, and is expressly forbidden in the word of God under the penalty of death. Then while we make all proper allowances for good intentions, the simple fact of holding a man in bondage by an unjust tenure ought to exclude a man from the communion of the church.

It may be objected, that some of the states prohibit the emancipation of slaves. To this it may be replied, that slave-holders made the laws prohibiting the emancipation of slaves, and consequently have no right to plead them as an excuse for injustice. Besides, there is not a man in the Union but can liberate his slaves by making the proper sacrifices. No man can be compelled to hold a slave. The civil government may sacrifice his property, but it cannot compel him to hold a slave. Christianity has clearly established the principle, that a man must sacrifice all he has, and even his life, sooner than do wrong. 'If a man forsake not all that he hath he cannot be my disciple,' is the positive declaration of the Son of God. It will require of no slave-holder to liberate his

slaves, more than was required of the young man in the gospel. 'Go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor.'

The man then, that will hold his fellow-man in bondage by an unjust tenure sorer than sacrifice all his own property, ought to be excluded from the communion of the church. Surely such a man would deny Christ in the hour of persecution.

Again: it may be objected, that to liberate slaves in many cases would make their condition worse, especially in some states there are laws to take them up and sell them again into slavery. To this it may be replied, that a man is not held responsible for that which he has no power to prevent, farther than he has contributed to its existence. He is not accountable for the bad use which others make of his discharge of duty. Suppose the state should pass a law to put a man's children to death, in case he should become a christian; ought he to reject Christ, and live in sin, to save the lives of his children? Or would he be chargeable with murder in case his children should be put to death under such a law? Every candid man will say, the crime in such case must fall upon the state and the individuals who executed the law.

If liberated slaves make a bad use of their liberty, they, as rational beings are accountable, and ought to be punished like other men. And if others take them up and sell them into slavery, they shall bear their sin. All that can be done by advice and influence ought to be done, to prevent their condition from being made worse, if worse it could be made; but to hold them by an unjust tenure, to prevent their condition from being made worse, is to do evil that good may come. And the Scriptures declare that the damnation of such as do so, is just. The Scriptures nowhere justify holding a man in slavery for his good. This has in every age, been the pretext for tyranny. They that exercised authority upon the Gentiles were called benefactors—they exercised their tyranny for the good of the people; but the Saviour said it should not be so among his disciples. There must be no such benefactors among them. No pretext, then, should be admitted, not even that of holding slaves for their good. If one pretext is admitted, another may; and the exercise of discipline be impracticable. The sin of holding a man in bondage by an unjust tenure, is of itself, amply sufficient to exclude a man from the communion of the church. And the taking of the labors of a man without his consent, and without wages, is a sin of no ordinary magnitude. Where is the church that would not cut off from church fellowship the man that had defrauded

his hired laborer out of a single day's labor, and refused to repent and make restitution. How much more then the man that compels his fellow-being to work for days and months and years, and even during life, without wages?

In order to the exercise of discipline it is not necessary to decide whether a slave-holder can be a christian or not. The object of discipline is to bring offenders to repentance, and not merely that of excluding from the church those who have no piety.

Let then all the various denominations of christians exclude from church fellowship all who persevere in holding slaves, under any pretext whatsoever; and let all the gospel ministers lift up their voices against slavery, and bring the lightnings and thunders of Sinai to bear upon it, and it will wither and die like the mown grass beneath the scorching sun, and it will disappear like midnight darkness before the rising source of day.

Some denominations have nobly begun this work of mercy, and have already breasted the storm. Let the church universal, as the army of the living God, come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty; let her voice be heard as the sound of many waters, proclaiming liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,—and the poisonous fountains of death shall be dried up, the rivers of anguish shall cease to flow, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Union in this great work will prepare the church for the rising of millennial glory, when liberty shall be universal, and the song of redeeming love shall ascend from every tongue, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.'